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VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

DEPARTMENT OF WOODWORK

THE PANELLED ROOMS

VI. THE WALTHAM ABBEY ROOM

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Frontispiece.]

General View of the Room.

VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

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VI. THE WALTHAM ABBEY ROOM

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PREFATORY NOTE

THE thanks of the Museum are due to the Rev. E. E. Dorling, Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and to Mr. George Biddell, who have devoted special study to the difficult questions involved as to the origin of the room, and have very generously placed the results of their investigations at our disposal. The article in "Notes and Queries" by the Rev. H. L. L. Denny, M.A., on the subject has also been of great assistance.

CECIL H. SMITH.

Victoria and Albert Museum.
1924.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE panelled room which forms the subject of this monograph was purchased for the Museum in 1899, and removed from a house in the town of Waltham Abbey. It is now erected at the West End of Gallery No. 21 on the ground floor (No. 2011—1899).

The following history of the room has been compiled and the description written by Mr. H. Clifford Smith, M.A., F.S.A., Assistant Keeper in the Department. Mr. A. Van de Put, Deputy Keeper of the Library, has investigated the special problem of the heraldry displayed on several of the panels, and his conclusions are embodied in the text. I have read the proofs.

EDWARD F. STRANGE,
Keeper of Woodwork.

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THE WALTHAM ABBEY ROOM
(DATE ABOUT 1530)

HISTORY

THE town of Waltham Abbey,[1] formerly known as Waltham Holy Cross,[2] lies in the south-west corner of the county of Essex, twelve miles north by east from London, in the valley of the river Lea, which here divides into numerous streams. On the banks of these streams are the well-known explosive factories, which had their origin in the mill set up by Sir Anthony Denny to supply King Henry VIII with gunpowder. To the north-east of Waltham the forests of Hainault and Epping rise on low hills. The town which grew up round the abbey of Waltham Holy Cross must a century ago have been full of charm ; nevertheless it still contains a few ancient houses.[3] The nearness of the factories, however, has sealed their fate and they are doomed with the advance of industrialism to disappear in their turn.

The abbey owed its foundation early in the 11th century to the discovery at Montacute in Somerset of a wonder-working cross. Placed by unseen hands in a wagon and drawn by oxen supernaturally guided, the precious relic was conveyed by slow and devious paths to Waltham. To celebrate this marvel, Tovi,

[1] Waltham is derived from the Saxon *weald*, or the Teutonic *wald*, a wood ; and *ham* a home : " the dwelling place near the wood."
[2] To be distinguished from the neighbouring village of Waltham Cross in Hertfordshire, which derives its name from the cross erected there by Edward I in memory of Queen Eleanor.
[3] Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: "An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex," 1921, Vol. ii, p. 245.

the lord of the place, built a church for its reception. On Tovi's death, Waltham was given by King Edward the Confessor to Harold, who in 1060 rebuilt the church and established a college of secular canons there. In 1177 King Henry II converted the college into a priory and in 1184 raised it to the dignity of an abbey. The wonder-working Holy Cross enshrined in the abbey church continued throughout the middle ages to draw a constant stream of pilgrims to Waltham.

At the suppression of the monasteries by Henry VIII, the Augustinian abbey of Waltham, the richest in Essex and one of the most important in the country, though it contrived by means of special bribes to Cromwell to outlast every other religious house in England, shared their fate. On March 23rd, 1540, Robert Fuller, who had been abbot since 1526,[1] surrendered it into the hands of the king's commissioners; and in 1541 its demesne lands were leased by Henry VIII to his favourite, Sir Anthony Denny, who in 1542 was made keeper of the site. In 1547 it was granted to him in fee. Sir Anthony, son of Sir Edmond Denny, chief baron of the exchequer, was born at Cheshunt in 1500. He became successively chief gentleman of the privy chamber and privy counsellor, was knighted in 1541, and was an executor of Henry VIII's will, under which he was appointed guardian of Edward VI. He married in 1538, Joan, daughter of Sir Philip Champernowne[2] of Modbury, Devonshire, and died at Cheshunt in 1549. In 1552 his widow purchased from the Crown the whole of the abbey property. On her death in 1553 the estate passed to their son Henry; and on his death in 1574, to his eldest son Edward. Sir Edward

[1] Robert Fuller became abbot in succession to John Malyn. He was also prior of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield. On leaving Waltham he retired to London, where he died the same year and was buried in St. Sepulchre's, Newgate.

[2] The Museum possesses portraits of Joan, Lady Denny (No. 53—1889), Sir Edward Denny, Earl of Norwich, and other family portraits and relics, which were presented by Sir Edward Denny, Bart., in 1882 (Nos. 1506 to 1517—1882).

Denny, who was born in 1569, decided when he came of age to establish himself at Waltham, and turned his attention to the fabric of the abbey, which since its grant to the family had become a ruin.[1]

Instead of adapting the remnant of the monastic edifice, he erected on the site a new mansion, known as the Abbey House. Sir Edward, who had been created Baron Denny of Waltham in 1604, and Earl of Norwich in 1626, died in 1630, when the house passed in succession to his daughter and then to his nieces who, towards the end of the 17th century, sold it. Considerable alterations were then made to the building, but many of the ancient fittings appear to have been retained. Finally in 1770 it was pulled down.

The actual house in Waltham Abbey where the panelling is known to have been for many years, was situated in a road called the Green Yard, near the abbey church. The exact site of the house is shown on a plan of the town of Waltham Abbey, published by Edward Littler in the transactions of the Essex Archæological Society in 1863. In the index to the plan it is described thus: "House containing carved panels brought from the house which stood in the abbey gardens and was built out of the ruins of the abbey."

The woodwork was purchased by the Museum *in situ* from the then owner, who had acquired it with a view to re-erecting it elsewhere. Shortly after its removal to the Museum in 1899, the house in the Green Yard was burned to the ground. The panelling thus only narrowly escaped destruction.

No trace of the house now remains, but it is described as an

[1] Thomas Fuller in his "Worthies of England" (1662) quotes from one Thomas Smith, as follows: "It so fell out that I served Sir Edward Denny (towards the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, of blessed memory), who lived in the Abbey of Waltham-Crosse, in the County of Essex, which at that time lay in ruinous heaps, and then Sir Edward began slowly, now and then, to make even, and re-edify some of that chaos."

early building which had been subjected to various alterations; and the panelling, judging from its present appearance, may very likely at some time have been adapted to fit the room in which it stood.

It has been supposed that the whole of the panelling now in the Museum belonged originally to the abbey and was made either for John Malyn, abbot of Waltham from 1507 to 1526, or his successor, Abbot Fuller, or else for Sir Anthony Denny; and that it had afterwards formed part, as Littler states,[1] of the decoration of Sir Edward Denny's Abbey House, and had been transferred to the house in the Green Yard in 1770 when that mansion was pulled down. But the coat-of-arms[2] which is carved on a portion of it is neither that of the abbot[3] nor of the abbey of Waltham,[4] nor of Sir Anthony Denny.[5] There is, furthermore, no evidence to show that Sir Anthony Denny ever resided at the abbey, for he did not come into full possession of the site until 1547 and he died two years later. We have seen, moreover, that when his grandson, Sir Edward Denny, decided about the year 1590, to leave the family seat at Cheshunt and to live at Waltham, the abbey buildings were already completely ruinous. It is unlikely, therefore, that much panelling from the abbey should have survived and should have been used again in the new house which Sir Edward erected in the abbey domain. There may, however, be some element of truth in the tradition that the panelling now in the Museum belonged to the abbey itself; and it is possible that portions of it may have come from there.

[1] *See* p. 9. [2] *See* p. 17.

[3] The woodwork in the abbot's parlour at Thame Park, Oxfordshire, erected about the same date (1530) by Robert King, last abbot of Thame, bears his own coat-of-arms and initials accompanied by the abbot's mitre and pastoral staff. (*See* "Country Life," Vol. 26, p. 90.)

[4] *See* p. 18 note. [5] *See* p. 18.

THE CHARACTER OF THE PANELLING

PANELLING, or wainscoting,[1] as a means of decoration or covering of walls first came into general use in England towards the latter part of the 15th century; and the present panelling dating, so far as internal evidence shows, from the third or fourth decade of the 16th century, that is to say from about the year 1530, is accordingly among the early examples of its kind. It is the oldest complete panelled interior of English origin in the possession of the Museum.

The first form of decorative panel employed for wainscoting was the well-known linenfold pattern—a type which, with variations, continued in use until about the middle of the 16th century.[2] Early in the reign of Henry VIII, panels, like those here represented, appear carved with medallion heads and other ornament derived originally from Italy; and are found, set generally in a single row, above those of the linenfold pattern.[3] Contrary to the usual rule, every one of the panels here is of the Italian kind. Indeed no other instance is known in this country where the whole wall surface is covered with woodwork composed of panels carved in this manner.

[1] The term wainscot, which meant properly oak of fine quality, and was used in this sense in England as far back as the middle of the 14th century, came to be applied, about two centuries later, to panel-work used to line the walls of an apartment. The process of covering the walls (as distinct from the roof) of an interior with panelling was often in early times spoken of as "seeling," or "ceiling," a room.

[2] *See* "Catalogue of Gothic and Early Tudor Furniture and Woodwork in the Victoria and Albert Museum," p. 10.

[3] This combination of linenfold and Renaissance panels occurs in several places. Notable examples are those at Thame Park, Boughton Malherbe, Kent (removed in 1923 to America), Smithills Hall, Lancashire, Magdalen College, Oxford, and at Great Fulford, Devonshire. The Renaissance panels at Great Fulford, which bear a marked resemblance to those in the Museum, are dated 1534, and are therefore almost contemporary. (*See* "Country Life," Vol. 36, p. 161.)

The panels which form the wainscot of this room are of peculiar value as illustrations of the new mode of decorative design which found expression in the great movement known as the Renaissance. Their design betrays, more clearly perhaps than that of any other of the English rooms in the Museum, the influence of contemporary events. The period, one of transition, was marked by social and political changes; and the panels, with their mingling of old and new forms—of the Gothic manner and the new style of the Renaissance—show the passing of the ancient order. When the stirrings of humanism began to be felt in England, its earliest appearance in art was due to Italian influence. From Italy, the home of the re-born manner in art, Italian craftsmen found their way to England carrying with them the fresh principles of design. This neo-classic detail was adopted tentatively at first, and then more freely by our own craftsmen. The ornament of the Italian Renaissance soon gained ground here under the guidance of leaders of taste such as Henry VIII [1] and Wolsey. But depending, as it did, on a few exceptional men like the great Cardinal, it took no very thorough hold of Englishmen. Henry's final break with Rome drove back to their own country the Italian artists who had added to English work new detail of delicate Latin form. This separation from the Latin countries retarded the development of neo-classic art in England for many a year to come. With the revolt against Rome, which was continued by Elizabeth, Italian ornament, with its foliage, vases, candelabra, scrolls and grotesques, gradually disappeared. Another influence then made itself felt—that of the Netherlandish and German craftsmen, whose strap-work and swags of fruit and flowers characterize the decorative work of the second half of the 16th century.

[1] It is interesting to record, though the fact can have no direct bearing on the panelling now in the Museum, that Henry VIII is known to have been at Waltham Abbey ; and Stephen Gardiner is recorded as having sent a letter to Cardinal Wolsey from Waltham, where the king was then staying. It was from Waltham that Cranmer gave expression to those views of Henry's marriage which resulted in such far-reaching political consequences.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PANELLING

The measurements of the room are as follows: Height 7 ft. 6 in., length 14 ft., width 11 ft. On three sides are openings in the panelling for the window, a doorway and a fireplace respectively (Plates I and II). The present fireplace is a copy in plaster based on an original design in red brick of the early Tudor period.

The wainscoting is composed of 110 panels. No two panels are exactly alike. One hundred of them are tall and narrow, and measure 23 in. in height and about 10 in. in width. The horizontal rails or transoms of the framework in which they are mounted continue across each section of the panelling, and have above each panel a scratch moulding, that is to say, a rounded edge with an incised line above, and below each panel a stop chamfer—the moulding and chamfer having evidently been made after the panels were framed up. The vertical rails or muntins have ogee and channel mouldings which end at the horizontal rails; but the upright rail which finishes each section of the panelling and runs from the top to the bottom of it has only a scratch moulding on the edge which borders on the panels.

These hundred panels are arranged in three rows one above the other. Each has in the centre a circular medallion framed in an enriched moulding or wreath of leaves. The majority contain a male or female head in profile—a class of ornament typical of the period, which will be dealt with subsequently in detail. A few of the medallions have, instead of heads, the Tudor rose and the Beaufort portcullis—badges of Henry VIII,[1] a pomegranate—the badge of Catherine of Aragon,[2] and a coat-of-arms (Plates XI and

[1] The presence of these badges does not, of course, imply that the panelling was in any way associated with the crown. Their display, according to the custom of the time, was intended merely to indicate the loyalty of the owner.

[2] The widow of Arthur, elder son of Henry VII, was married to Henry VIII in 1509, and was divorced by him in 1533. The panelling must, therefore, almost certainly have been executed within these dates.

XII), carved at intervals on the panelling. The medallions are accompanied by a variety of conventional designs in the form of dolphins and other grotesque animals, vases, masks, fantastic devices, scrolls and similar detail of arabesque nature characteristic of Renaissance ornament. This type of design, of Italian origin, went in this country by the term "Romayne," and is described in the Hampton Court accounts as "Antick Work." The uppermost row of panels shows a mixture of these Italian motives and of motives in the traditional Gothic feeling; the circular medallion in each case being surmounted by a Gothic arch of ogee shape fashioned out of two branches, having foliated crockets above, and on the inner side cusps or double sprays of fruit, flowers and berries, all treated in a typical late Gothic manner.

The remaining ten panels, which complete the panelling of the room, are arranged in a single row above the fireplace and below the window (Plates VI to X). They are each 17 in. high and about 13 in. wide, and the framework in which they are set is mitred, and moulded on all four sides of the panels. The central position in the panelling of the overmantel is occupied by a well executed female head in profile (Plates VI and VII). The projection of this head is exceptional, and its immediate background appears to be unfinished, which is rather remarkable in view of the very high finish given to the wreath which surrounds it, and to the details of the other panels which form this set. These ten panels, with their vases and medallioned heads drawn direct from Italian or perhaps Franco-Italian sources and finely carved in relief, are unlike the rest and show much greater accomplishment.

Indeed an examination of the panelling in its entirety reveals the hand of two craftsmen of the same period, but of very different degrees of skill. The greater part of the panelling can be seen to be the production of one who possessed a certain understanding of Italian decorative forms, and whose mind was full of fancy and invention. His workmanship, however, displays only a limited power of execution and seems rough and unfinished when compared

with the bold yet delicate modelling of the fruit wreaths, heads, vases and dolphins of the ten broader panels. These clearly indicate the presence of a carver who, if not an Italian himself, was at any rate well versed in the Italian technique.

THE MEDALLION HEADS

The most striking feature of the room as a whole is the series of human heads carved in profile in low relief, and set each within a circular frame, which occurs on nearly every panel. As examples of a type of design which plays an important part in English decoration of the period, such medallion heads or roundels deserve special attention. These "Romayne" heads, as they were termed, the female in coiffed headdresses, the male in looped hats or helmets, are almost invariably set in medallions formed of wreaths of fruit or flowers or of strapped and laurelled circles. The title *chapeau de triomphe* of the French documents of the 16th century [1] indicates the Roman origin of the garlands, which are employed to great perfection in Italian Renaissance art as frames for busts or coats-of-arms.[2] The motive, introduced into England by the Italian craftsmen, appears on Henry VII's tomb in Westminster Abbey, and on that of his mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond (completed in 1518), both the work of the sculptor Torrigiano. It also occurs in English woodwork on beds, chests, chairs, cupboards, and on the bench-ends of churches, as well as on panelling, for upwards of forty years, and continued to be employed intermittently on the stonework of tombs until the beginning of the 17th century.[3] The heads themselves were for the most part

[1] Molinier. "Histoire générale des Arts Industriels," Vol. ii, p. 98.

[2] Like the terra-cotta heads, thus surrounded, on the gateway at Hampton Court; or the great Della Robbia roundel in the Museum, made about 1466 for the Pazzi villa, near Florence, which bears the arms of King René of Anjou within a sumptuous border composed of fruits exquisitely modelled in relief and coloured.

[3] A chronological list of the use of "portrait" medallions is given in Francis Bond's "Woodcarving in English Churches: Stalls and Tabernacle Work," p. 75.

merely decorative, but they seem at times to have been intended to bear some allusion and to represent definite characters. Sometimes they are Roman emperors crowned, or warriors helmeted in early 16th-century fashion ; at others, heads of heroes and heroines, biblical, heathen or historical.[1] Christian saints or heathen gods appear to have been equally welcome : Scriptural, mythological and allegorical subjects being, with the comprehensiveness of the Renaissance, all curiously intermingled.

Occasionally the heads took the form of actual portraits,[2] as, for instance, at Haddon Hall, where the panels of the dining room are carved with portraits of Sir George Vernon and his wife, Margaret Talboys, with the date 1542 ;[3] also on the panelling in the Museum, dated 1546, from Beckingham Hall, Essex, which contains portraits (though not in profile) of Robert Beckingham and his son and daughter-in-law;[4] and at Newstead Abbey, Nottinghamshire, there are various portrait busts, including that of Sir John Byron, dated 1559, who acquired the abbey at the dissolution.[5] Fanciful attempts, it is true, are often made to read portraiture into these human faces. There can be little doubt, however, that the head on the right of the overmantel in the Waltham Abbey room (Plates VI and VIII), representing a young and beardless man wearing a typical civilian hat of the shape familiar to us in Holbein's portraits, with its brim turned up at the back and fastened by loops, is the actual portrait of the individual for whom this portion of the panelling, at least, was actually made. Attempts to identify the subject of this portrait have, however, so far proved fruitless.

[1] The panelling in the Bishop's Palace at Norwich has heads of the Nine Worthies (*see* Gotch, " Growth of the English House," p. 188).
[2] *See* p. 15, note 3.
[3] Roe, F. " Old Oak," p. 258.
[4] Exhibited in Room 42. *See* " Catalogue of Gothic and Early Tudor Furniture and Woodwork in the Victoria and Albert Museum," No. 272.
[5] " Country Life," Vol. 42, p. 474.

THE COATS-OF-ARMS

A COAT-OF-ARMS—*Quarterly :* 1, 4, *a cheveron between three pierced molets ;* 2, 3, *a lion with a bend over all* (both to the sinister)—is repeated several times on the panelling (Plate XI). Some of the panels have only the cheveron between three molets, on others the molet occurs alone (Plate XVI). These arms were, in all probability, once painted with their proper heraldic tinctures. Indeed, the whole surface of the panelling, like most of the carving, plaster and internal stonework, as well as much of the furniture of those days, was originally, no doubt, tricked out with gold and colour. The complete absence of this colouring renders the identification of the arms a matter of considerable difficulty.

The reversing, *i.e.*, representation towards the sinister (or spectator's right hand), of the charges in 2, 3, might suggest that, in planning the work, the correct precedence of the quarterings has been similarly reversed ; but the occurrence elsewhere in the panelling of the cheveron and molets, sometimes as separate arms, and a distinct coat in one instance without a shield shape (Plate XVI), indicates that this is the principal quartering.

Two ingenious theories have been propounded as to the arms and their identity; they may be summarized as follows :—

According to the Rev. H. L. L. Denny, writing in "Notes and Queries,"[1] it is probable that "whoever carved the Waltham panels designed them for the Denny family, and intended the arms upon them to be theirs, but mistook for their coat that of another family of Denny or Dennys" and carved it incorrectly. He quotes the arms "1, 4, *argent a cheveron sable between three mullet gules ;* 2, 3, *argent a lion rampant azure crowned or*" as assigned to Dennys in Harleian MS. 6163 ("Two Tudor Books of Arms ; De Walden Library," ed. J. Foster, p.245), and those in quarters 1, 4, as borne at the same period by a Suffolk family of the name Denny or Deneys. He instances as another case of the wrongful

[1] Series xi, Vol. i, p. 245, 1910.

attribution of the cheveron and molets as arms to Sir Anthony Denny [for his own: *Gules a saltire argent between twelve crosses formy or*] in an engraving in one edition of Lodge's "Portraits of Illustrious Persons."

If this attribution of the arms held good, the panels would necessarily be of later date than the year 1552, when Joan (Champernowne), Sir Anthony's widow, purchased the abbey buildings of which her husband had been granted the site in 1547. But the presence on the panelling of the badge of Catherine of Aragon would show that it must have been carved before 1533, the year when she was divorced from Henry VIII. He suggests, however, as an alternative, that the panelling may have been removed to Waltham "from the old Denny seat at Cheshunt when the heads of the family took up their residence at the latter place." This suggestion is difficult to reconcile with the existence on one of the panels (Plate XV, 3) of a plain Calvary cross (with its arms broken off) rising from a base of three steps—a not unusual representation of the Holy Cross of Waltham.[1]

The explanation as to the identity of the coat-of-arms put forward by the Rev. H. L. L. Denny is supported by the Rev. E. E. Dorling, who writes as follows:—

"I must confess that this theory appeals to me very strongly. It seems to fit the known facts of the case. There can be little doubt that the family of Denny of Cheshunt was not of that Suffolk stock which bore the cheveron and molets, and was always distinguished from them by bearing a saltire between little crosses

[1] The design of this cross combines, as it were, the characteristics of Waltham Holy Cross and of the cross borne in the arms of the abbey. Its concave edge bears an incised engrailment, as does the heraldic cross in the abbey arms—*argent on a cross engrailed sable five cross-crosslets fitchy or* (compare the seal of the abbey attached to the deed of surrender, 1541, in "Victoria County History of Essex," II, p. 172, Pl. III; also Sir Wm. St. John Hope's paper on the seals of the abbey, in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, 2nd Series, Vol. xxviii, p. 95, 1916).

of varying forms. In *Glover's Roll* a Denny coat is given (but without the name of seat or county) as *Gules a saltire argent between twelve crosses formy or*, which arms are known to have been displayed by Denny of Waltham.

"The Dennys of Tralee, created baronets in 1782, who trace descent from Sir Edmond Denny, Kt., of Cheshunt, bore and still bear this coat. Edward Denny, created Lord Denny of Waltham in 1604 and Earl of Norwich in 1626, who was grandson of Sir Anthony Denny of Waltham, Kt., also bore it. The Dennys of Gillingham in Norfolk, who descended from Sir Thomas, eldest son and heir of Sir Edmond Denny, are said to have differenced the arms of the Cheshunt line by making the crosses formy fitchy. Yet another line, akin apparently to our Dennys, seem to have borne crosslets instead of the original crosses formy. All of which makes it fairly clear that the various lines of Denny, descending from Sir Edmond of Cheshunt, bore on their red shield a silver saltire with crosses of varying shapes.

"I have not been able to find any evidence as to when or by whom these arms were first borne, but it may, I think, be taken as established that, though the arms on the panels are in all probability those of a family of Denny, they are not the arms of Denny of Waltham.

"It has been suggested that the bearing by Denny of the coat with the saltire and crosses may perhaps have its definite beginning at the time of Sir Anthony's marriage with Joan Champernowne, who came of an ancient Devonshire house bearing very similar arms. This may be so: it is only mentioned here as affording a possible help towards the solution of the riddle of date."

Another identification of the arms has been communicated by Mr. George Biddell, the basis of which is a theory that the panelling was made for a member of the family of John Broughton, sheriff of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire, 38, Hen. VI (Fuller's "Worthies of England," I, 126), and specifically for his descendant

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and namesake, another John Broughton, last male member of the family, early in the reign of Henry VIII, who bore the arms *argent a cheveron between three molets gules:* the molets being described as *pierced sable* in the blason for Sir Robert Broughton given in Harleian MS. 6163. ("Two Tudor Books of Arms; De Walden Library," 1904, p. 283).

The association of a lion rampant with the arms of Broughton is traced, according to this theory, to the Broughton coat "bearing in pretence a lion rampant," which was noted by Harvey, Clarencieux, in Little Saxham Church, but was subsequently missing (Gage's "History . . . of Suffolk, Thingoe Hundred," p. 157). According to the same theory the quartering of the lion rampant may have accrued to the Broughtons either (i) by marriage in early times with an heiress of the Colville family of Carlton Colville (Suffolk), and of Newton (Isle of Ely) from 1262 (bearing: *azure a lion rampant argent and a label gules*); or else (ii) as the result of the Broughtons inheriting lands from Sir William Colville of Newton, which might have descended through the Engaines, together with the manor of Colne Engaine, near Colchester. This latter came, in fact, to the Broughtons ultimately through Mary, youngest daughter (and junior co-heir) of Sir John de Engaine and his wife, Joan Peverell, who married secondly Sir William Colville.

A principal defect of this hypothesis—Broughton quartering Colville—is that it ignores as possible quarterings to the supposed Broughton coat in the Waltham panelling, the definitely established arms of no less than three heiresses (Stoneham, Denston and Sapcote) whose marriages are recorded among those contracted by the four generations of Broughtons immediately preceding the John Broughton with whom the theory seeks to connect the panelling. This is to say nothing of quarterings for Engaine and Bernake representing the mother and grandmother of the Stoneham heiress of which Engaine according to the second theory would supposedly have carried Colville with it. The Broughton quarterings—"Broughton, Stoneham, Barnacke, Noone, Engayne, Denstone"—

were, with many others, exemplified to Sir Henry Cheyneys, son of the last John Broughton's younger sister and co-heir Anne, second wife of Sir Thos. Cheney, K.G., in the Visitation of Bedfordshire, 1566 ("Harleian Society," XIX, 12-15, 1884). The Essex manor of Colne Engaine passed similarly from the Broughtons to the Cheyneys and was sold by Sir Henry, above mentioned, under a licence obtained in 1263 (Morant, "History of Essex," Vol. ii, 218), that is to say some three hundred years before the Visitation in question.

The armorial practice which this second theory involves, of quartering arms for territorial heirship unaccompanied by any kind of descent or representation in blood is, however, so rare as to be practically negligible in English heraldry. Within the limits that it definitely proposes for itself, no satisfactory solution of the armorial problem presented by the panels is afforded by this otherwise ingenious theory.

From the series of interesting conjectures set forth above, only the following definite facts emerge :—

1. The panelling must have been made before Henry VIII divorced Catherine of Aragon in 1533.
2. The arms are not those of Sir Anthony Denny, but may be those of the family of Denny of Suffolk, to which Sir Anthony Denny was not related.
3. Sir Anthony Denny had a house at Cheshunt, near Waltham Abbey, at the time of the dissolution of the abbey in 1540. He did not obtain the grant in fee of the abbey property until 1547.
4. There is no evidence that Sir Anthony Denny had the panelling made and, in view of the importance of his offices in the royal household, he is unlikely to have adorned it with arms which were not his own.
5. The association of the panelling with the abbey seems to rest on the tradition already quoted from Littler's account

on page 9. The only internal evidence in favour of it appears in the use in one of the panels of a device which suggests the Holy Cross of Waltham. The panel shows distinct traces of the cross-piece, which was probably cut away at a later date (Plate XV, 3). On another panel is a shield bearing a chalice, with eagles for supporters (Plate XV, 1). A larger chalice, on the foot of which a cross is incised, appears on still another panel (Plate XV, 2); while a third has the eagles with a bunch of grapes (Plate XVI, 3). The device consisting of a shepherd's crook and two staves overlaid with a rose on a roundel, which occurs below the Waltham Cross and elsewhere, does not seem to have any ecclesiastical bearing.

No clear decision as to the origin of the panelling can be indicated. If it was made for a secular house in the neighbourhood, the insertion of religious emblems might have been suggested by the proximity of so well known a place of pilgrimage as the abbey church. If it came from one of the buildings attached to the abbey, the arms may be those of a donor, who, however, was certainly not Sir Anthony Denny. An abbey such as Waltham would by no means be limited as to the source of its gifts to families in the immediate neighbourhood.

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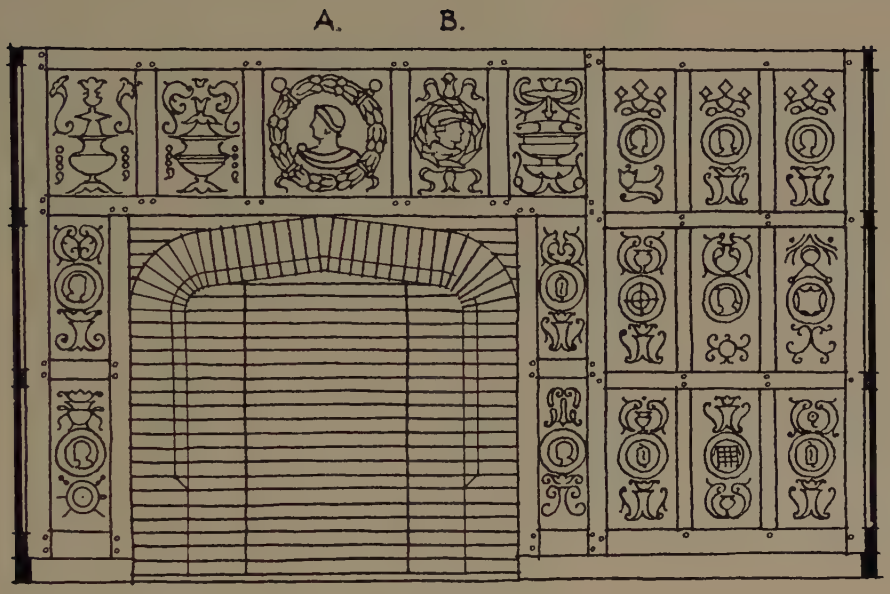
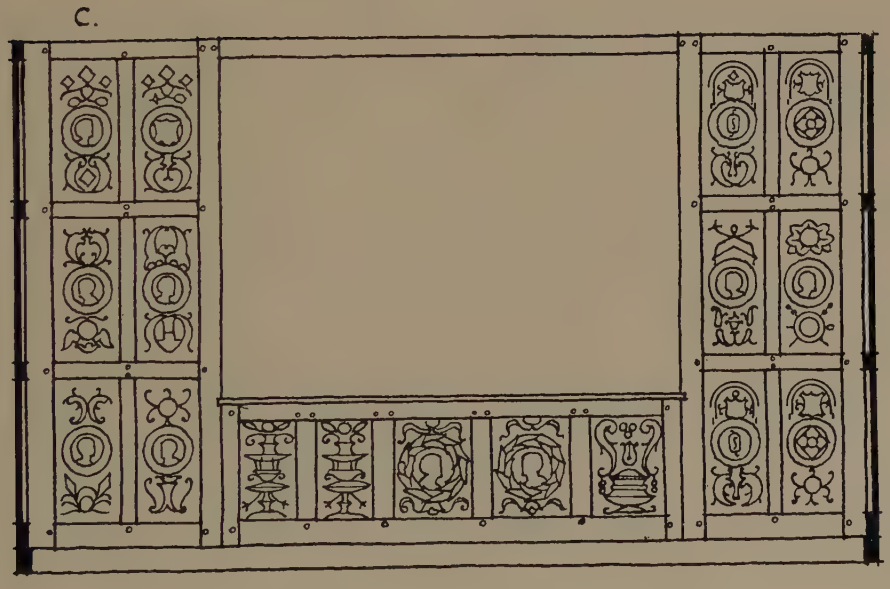
PHOTOGRAPHS

Photographs of details of the panelling are in the Museum Collection, and can be seen on application in the Library. Prints from the official negatives may be purchased at the Photograph Stall in the Museum.

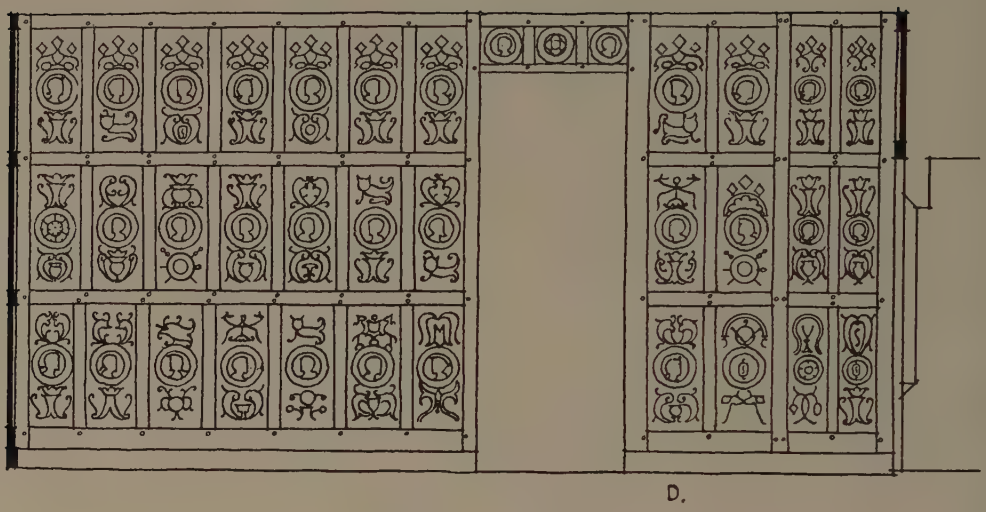


a. Drawing of End Wall with Fireplace.

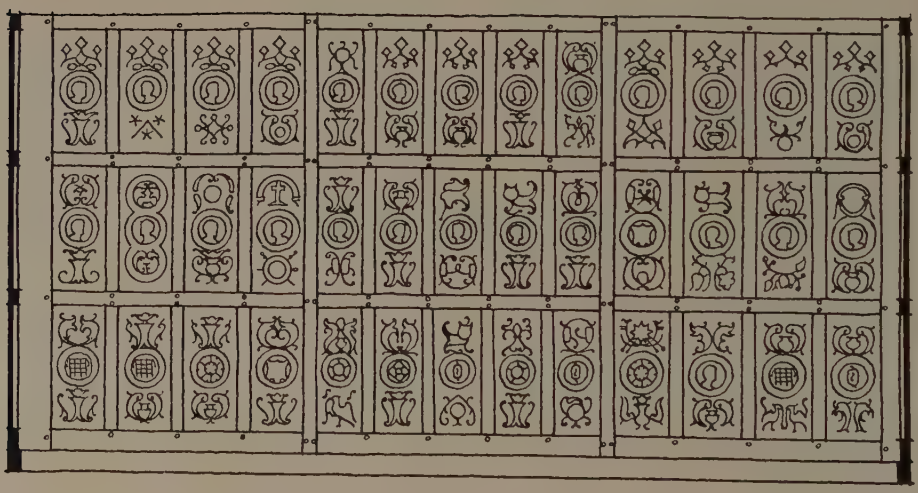


b. Drawing of End Wall with Window Opening.

PLATE II.



a. Drawing of the Side Wall with Doorway Opening.



b. Drawing of the Side Wall facing Doorway.

Portion of Panelling between the Window and Doorway.

PLATE IV.

Portion of Panelling facing the Doorway.

Portion of Panelling facing the Doorway.

PLATE VI.

Panels with Medallion Heads above the Fireplace.

Measured Drawing of the Medallion above the Fireplace.
(Marked A on Plate I, *a*.)

PLATE VIII.

Measured Drawing of the Portrait Medallion above the Fireplace.
(Marked B on Plate I, *a*.)

Panels with Medallion Heads below the Window.

PLATE X.

Panels with Renaissance Designs above the Fireplace and below the Window.

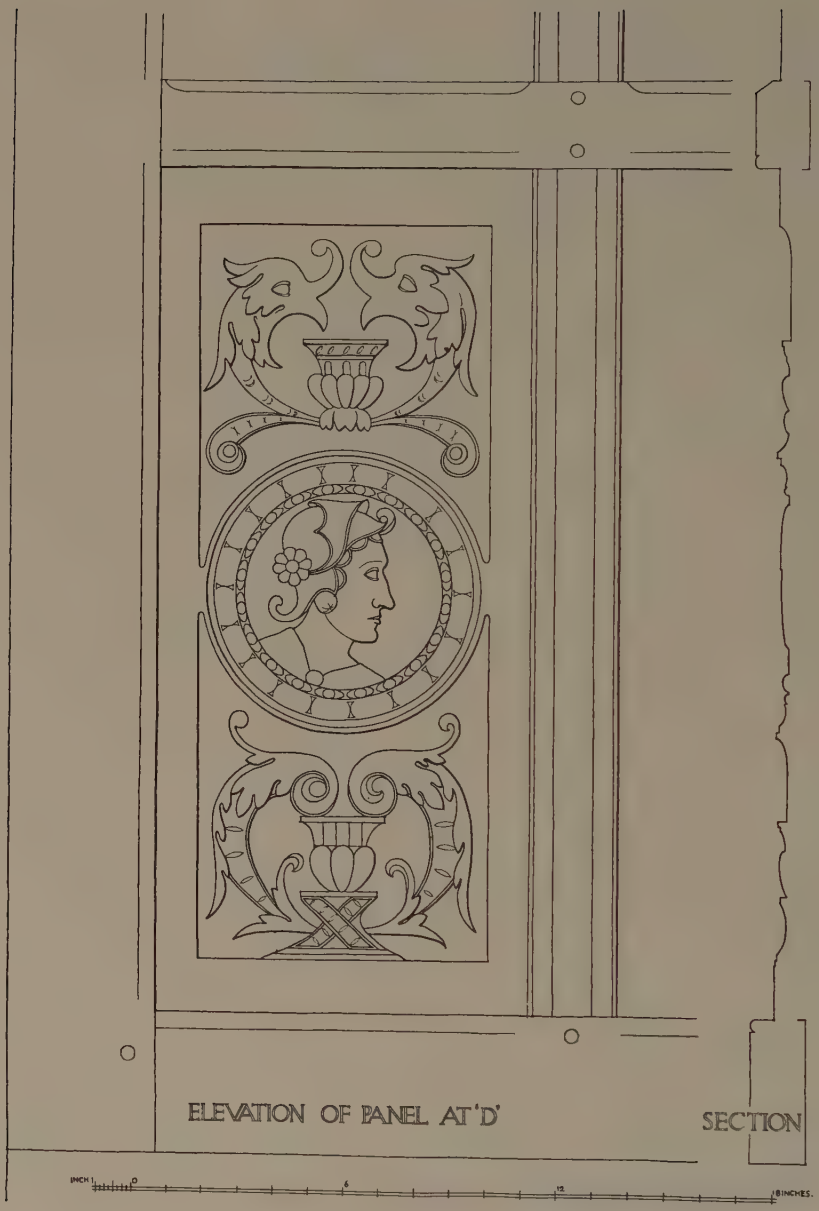
Panels with Portcullis, Tudor Rose, and Coat-of-Arms.

PLATE XII.

Panels with Pomegranates and Tudor Rose.

Measured Drawing of Panel. (Marked C on Plate I, *b.*)

PLATE XIV.



Measured Drawing of Panel. (Marked D on Plate II, *a*.)

1

2

3

Three Panels (Nos. 1 and 2 show a Chalice; No. 3, the Holy Cross of Waltham.)

PLATE XV.

1

2

3

Three Panels. (No 1 shows the molet, and No. 2 the molet and cheveron of the coat-of-arms.)

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